

137 not unique to the coast of northern Bahia--it extends northward along the littoral almost to Cape São Roque, with the Recôncavo forming its

- [233] southern limit. In Bahia the grazing value of the agreste is not great, since the grassland areas consist of small and scattered patches and since there are relatively few herbaceous plants which are palatable to grazing animals.

The characteristic vegetation of the dry interior of the Northeast is the scrub forest, called caatinga or, sometimes, sertão.³⁴

Compared with the agreste, the grassy patches are more extensive, and the trees are lower. The tall vegetation of the scrub forest consists of thorny, xerophytic, deciduous brush and low trees and of low palms, especially the licuri (Syagrus Coronata). Cacti are very common in the caatinga of Bahia; the tall branched cactus is a very conspicuous element in the landscape, and there are several low, thorny cacti on

- [233] the scrub-forest floor. The cover also contains many herbaceous plants which are valuable forage.

132 Both the agreste and the caatinga show a phenomenal seasonal rhythm in response to the rainfall cycle. During the dry season in

the caatinga the landscape is brown, bare of leaves, and hostile with thorns; the only green plants are the cacti. Much of the earth is bare, and its brown is indistinguishable from the bare trunks and twisted branches of the scrub trees. With the first rains a tremendous exuberance of green leaves, coarse grass, and succulent herbs

- [233] spring up, and the entire landscape is transformed. During this season the caatinga provides good forage for herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. But this lush season is brief, and soon the caatinga is again brown. In some years there is no rain, and although the stubborn vegetation manages to survive in a dormant state, men and animals must leave for the more humid coastal forests.

CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB
231 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial
433 crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural

BB
[435] economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In
1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep,
goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal
production was about Cr.360,000,000.¹ Thus animals accounted for about
17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the
Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essen-
tial to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses,
and mules.²

BB
NB
231 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated
233 with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian north-
442 eastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão
443 of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are
driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and
sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de
Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to
provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial
number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work
animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB
231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão
in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other
areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones
in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

231 Where there are large numbers of work animals the conditioning and maintenance of oxen and other beasts of burden are important agricultural activities. In all areas of the Recôncavo the livestock forage on grazing land rather than cultivated pasture, and there is no livestock feeding. Thus, animal husbandry in the Recôncavo is not part of a system in which crops are raised or pasture is planted to support or fatten livestock, as is the case in mixed farming areas.

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• 233 Pastured Land. According to the agricultural census, the total area used as pasture in the Recôncavo in 1940 was about 280,000 hectares--only two times the total cultivated area.³ The total area of pastured land in 1948 must have been much greater, perhaps 400,000 hectares, for there was a strong increase in the number of animals, and it seems unlikely that there was much increase in the carrying capacity of the wild vegetation.

As was suggested in the physical setting discussion, the basic grazing resources of the Recôncavo are the caatinga and agreste. These vegetation formations, modified by cultivation, fire, and grazing into capoeira--second growth--are used extensively for livestock along the perimeter of the Recôncavo, where cultivation is scattered, but also in such intensively cultivated areas as the Southwestern Recôncavo. In essence, all the uncultivated rural land of the zone of the caatinga and the agreste is grazing land, since there are few fences to restrain the large numbers of livestock.

There are scattered areas of grassland in the caatinga, the agreste, and the mata zones of the Recôncavo. Very often the caatinga of the uplands of the crystalline zone is replaced by grasses along the poorly-drained valley floors. These grassy valleys are scattered throughout the western half of the Recôncavo and are used as pasture

311 for small herds of dairy cattle and for the maintenance of a relatively

233 small number of higher grade beef cattle and horses. Around Feira de Santana, however, there is a prominent concentration of grassland, and it is here that the cattle from the sertão are fattened before they are dispersed over the Recôncavo.

In the sugar cane zone coarse, rank grasses cover the lowest valley bottoms, which are frequently too wet and muddy to permit the transport of harvested cane. These grasslands are the pastures on which are grazed the work oxen and incidental animals used in sugar production. The limited areas of permanent pasture are supplemented by the fallow fields and by leaves from the harvested cane. Scattered patches of grass are found elsewhere in the humid lowland. Along the eastern side of the sugar cane zone there are grassy openings in the forest. In this area there are several cattle ranches on which the weak or sick animals of the large sugar usinas are rested and the reserves of oxen maintained. The forest, which is developed on mixed, sandy soils and is more like agreste than true littoral forest, apparently is held back by heavy grazing and by burning, so that the grassy openings are preserved.

In effect all the littoral forest is used for grazing to some extent. Even in very remote areas donkeys and pigs are to be found foraging on the scanty grasses and herbaceous vegetation of the forest floor.

In addition to the quality of the wild vegetation, two contradictory economic and social forces are important in determining the location and extent of grazing land within some local areas. In the Recôncavo, crop cultivation is generally more profitable than livestock industry. Where economic forces operate freely, grazing is likely to be relegated to the less desirable areas--infertile soils, poorly drained valleys, or zones remote from the local market. On the other

- 233 On the other
556 hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is
311 an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community.

As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo—cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats—are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestock fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwest of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and
[232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important
[232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

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[493] The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is [222] unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

• 233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of 443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters [222] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used [234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a [443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

- 233 lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios—Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

- 233 Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is increasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952⁵ and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question—the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond—Canassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

- 233 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in
433 its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

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433 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948—pigs are similarly ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irá area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratupe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

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[472] In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-skinned

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279)

231 animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage
 [44] in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are
 marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased
 by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck
 or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic
 433 animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several
 of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000
 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but
 hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão,
 but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the
 Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more
 uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana
 (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population
 of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from
 Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second
 most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important—
 these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and
 are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both
 animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially
 within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and

231 very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and
 • 233 goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle.
 This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas,
 however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less fre-
 quently, sheep in the second-growth.

241 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classified within
 231 the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In
 423 the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately
 311 within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are
 involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a
 tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classi-
 fied as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the
 amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.³ The distribution
 of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of
 enumerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and
 scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-
 scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which pro-
 duced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties,
 encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units.

The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was
 approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than
 twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the
 number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the
 total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean
 size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is
 the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per
 cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agri-
 cultural properties.

231 Livestock Units. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were
 233 confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every
município of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining município in 1940.

In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

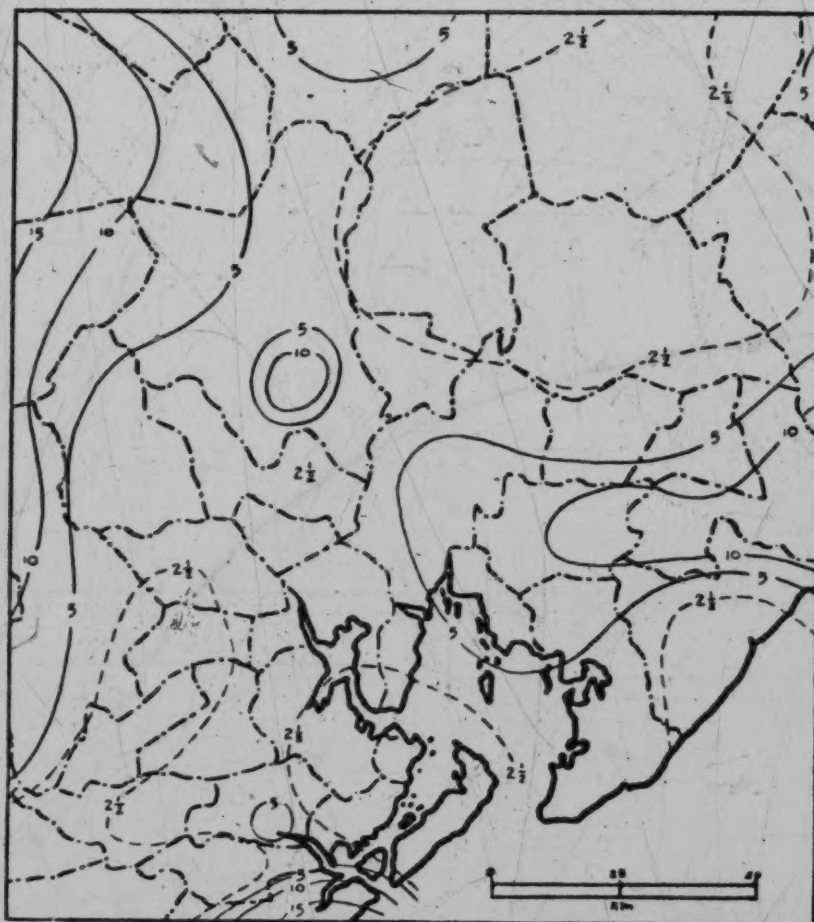
(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 294)

231 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the
 • 233 Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units, along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially
 233 important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the
 433 Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These [313] [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

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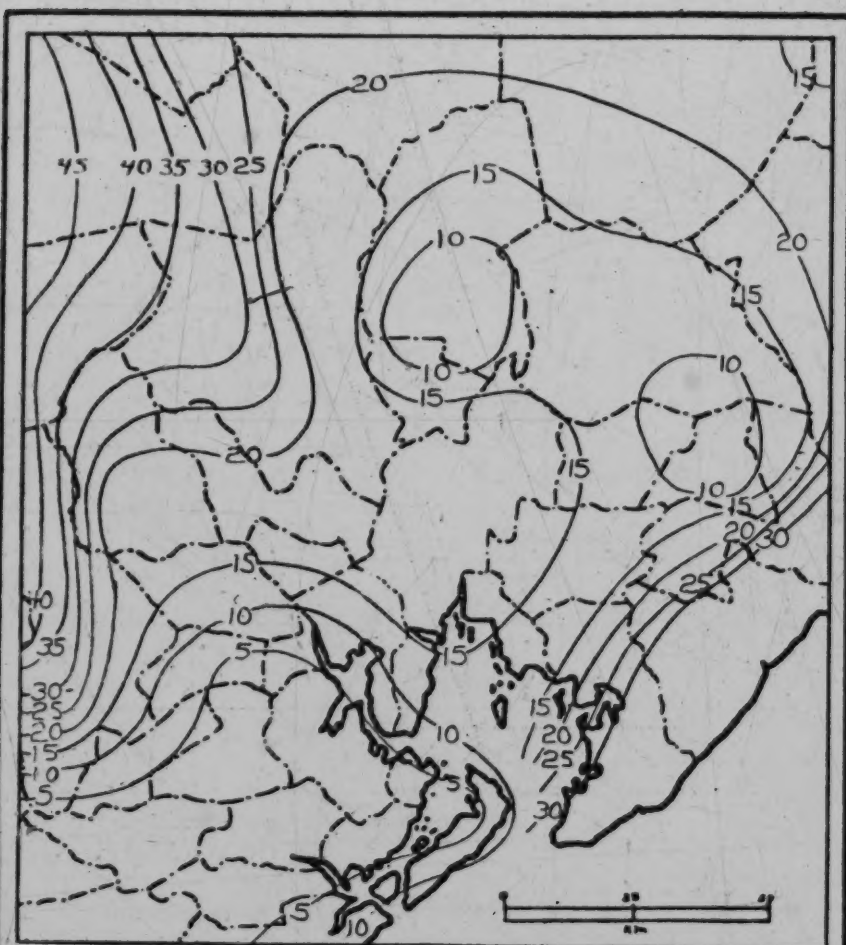
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were
Livestock Enterprises--1940

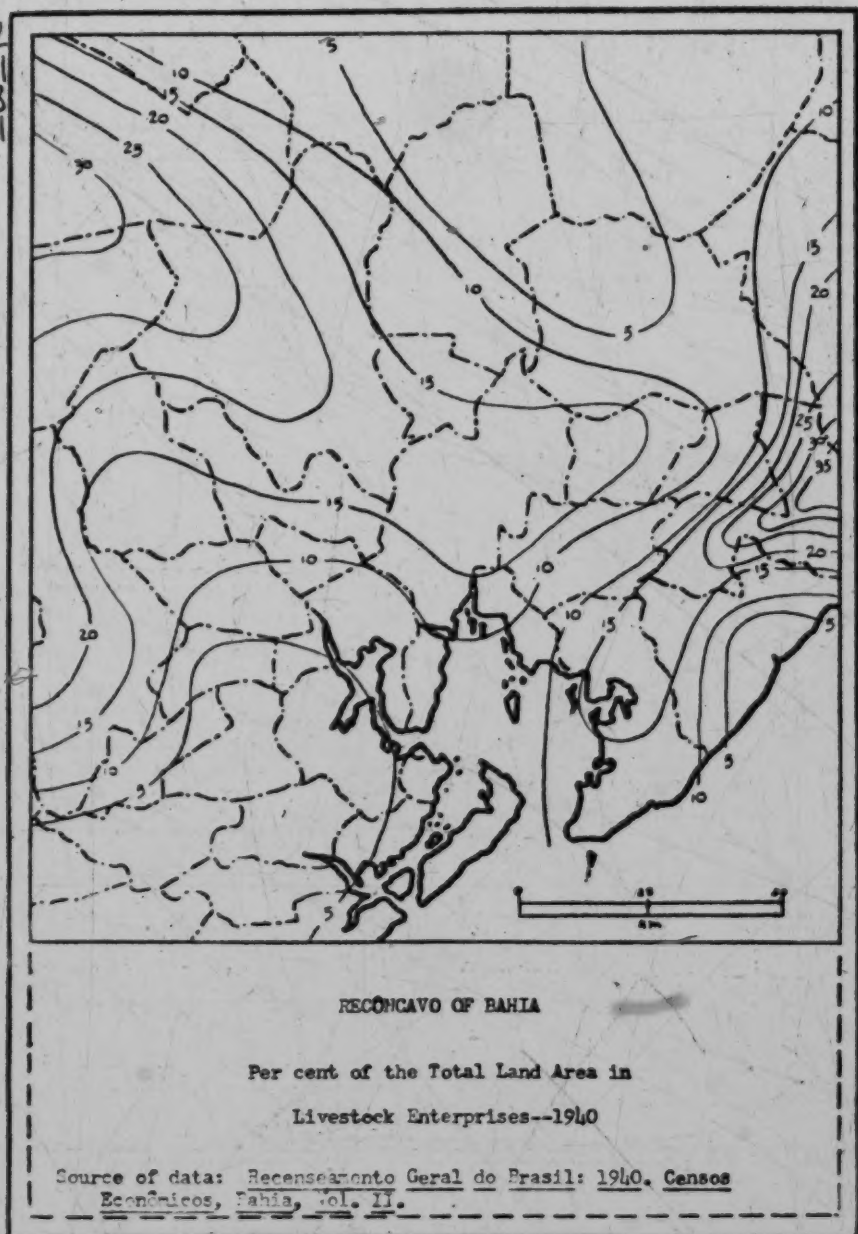
Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.



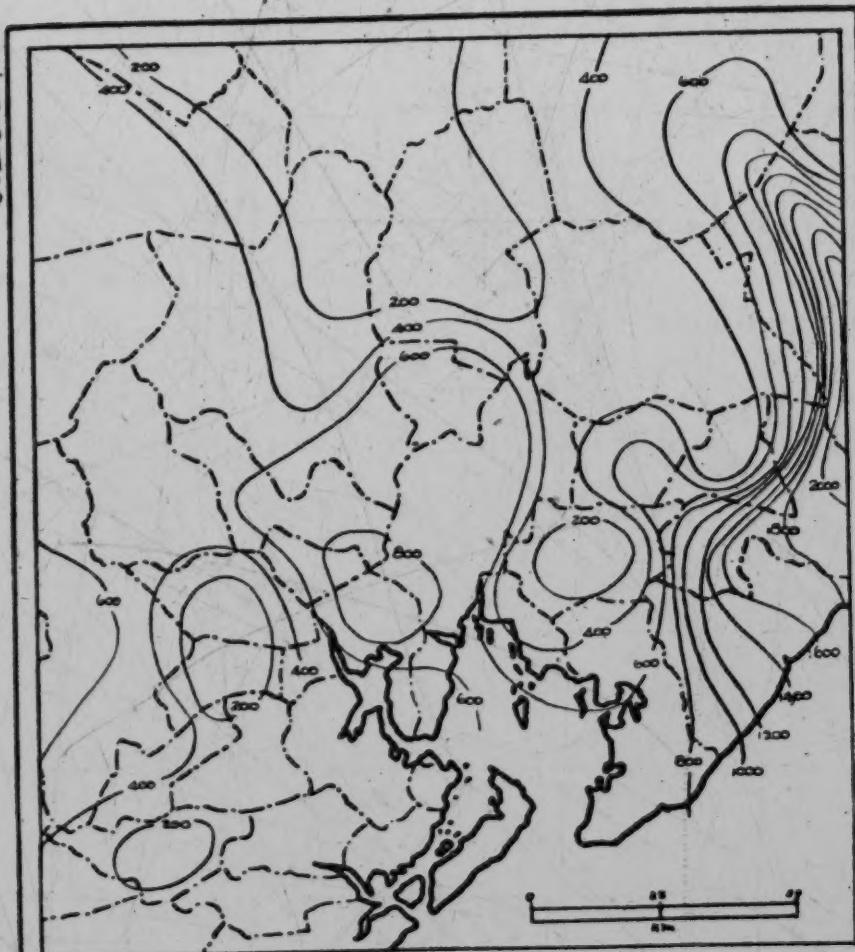
RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in
Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.



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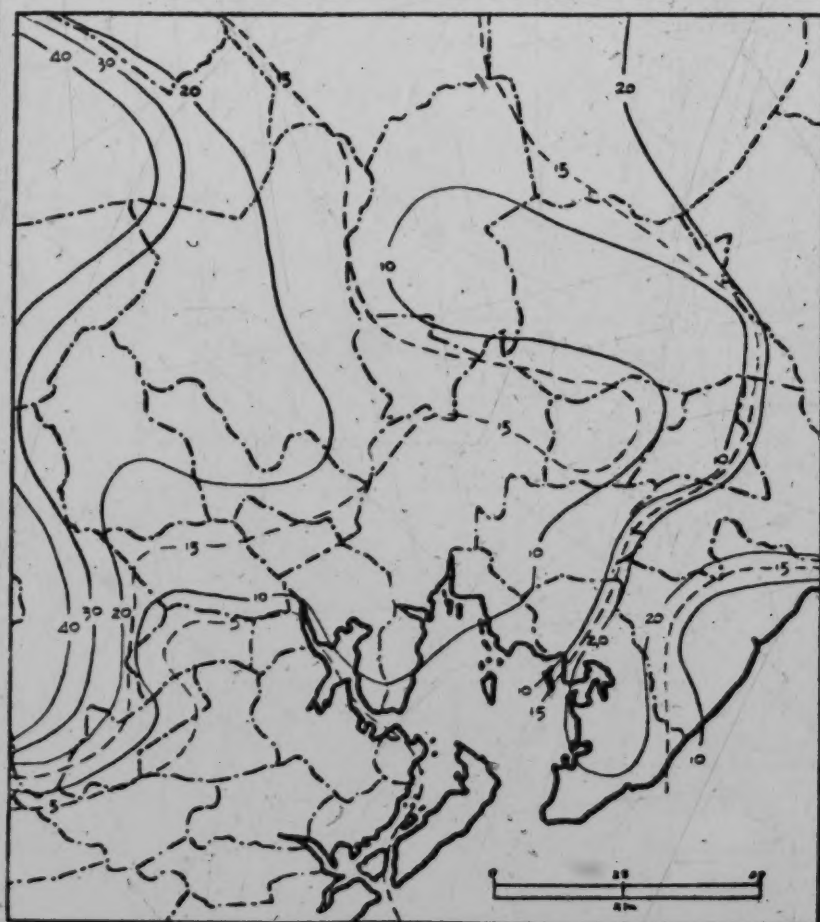
RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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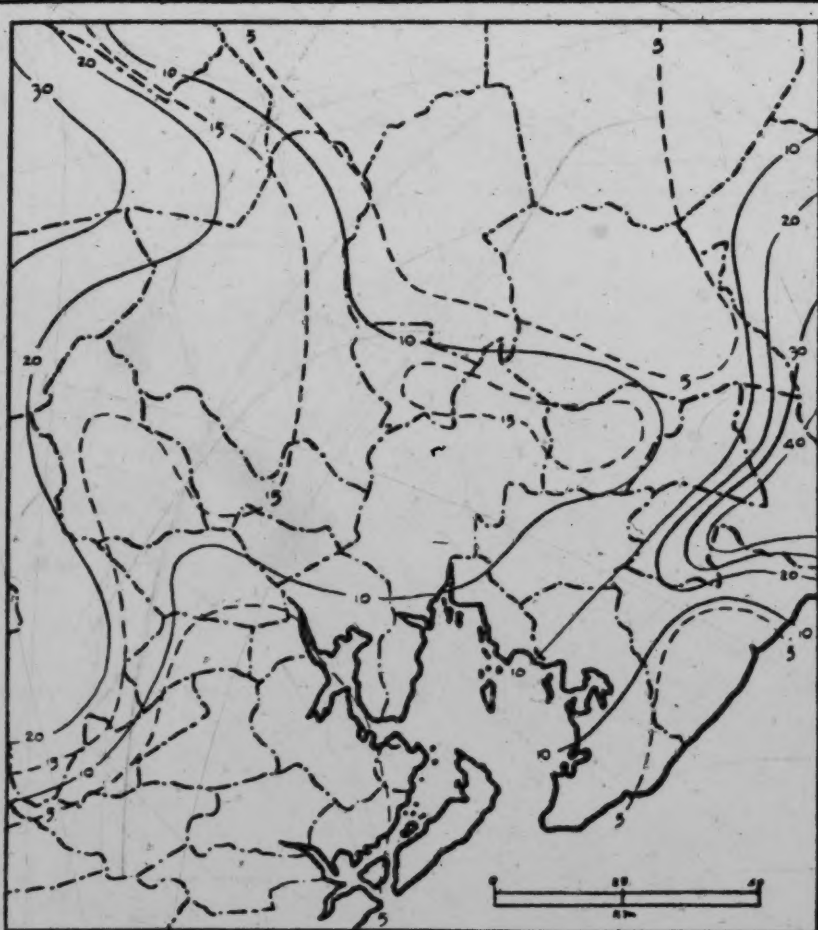


RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in
Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in
Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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● 233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
433 they have supplementary livestock production.^h
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Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Recôncavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de
233 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
311 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a dis-
433 tinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle
ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy;
the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures,
serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the
whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms
184 were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms
were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests
are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The
Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a
relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and
the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro
and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96).
On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units
occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the
island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the
Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences

000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

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423 The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 2 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

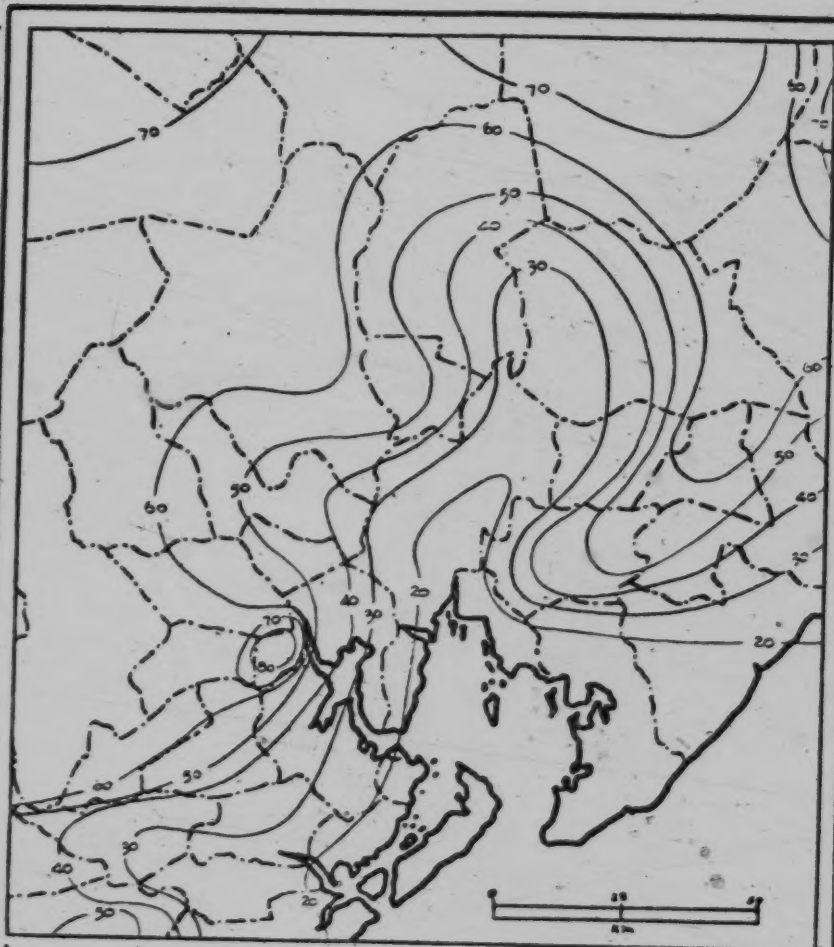
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423 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation properties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

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311 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Anaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

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233 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that.

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311)

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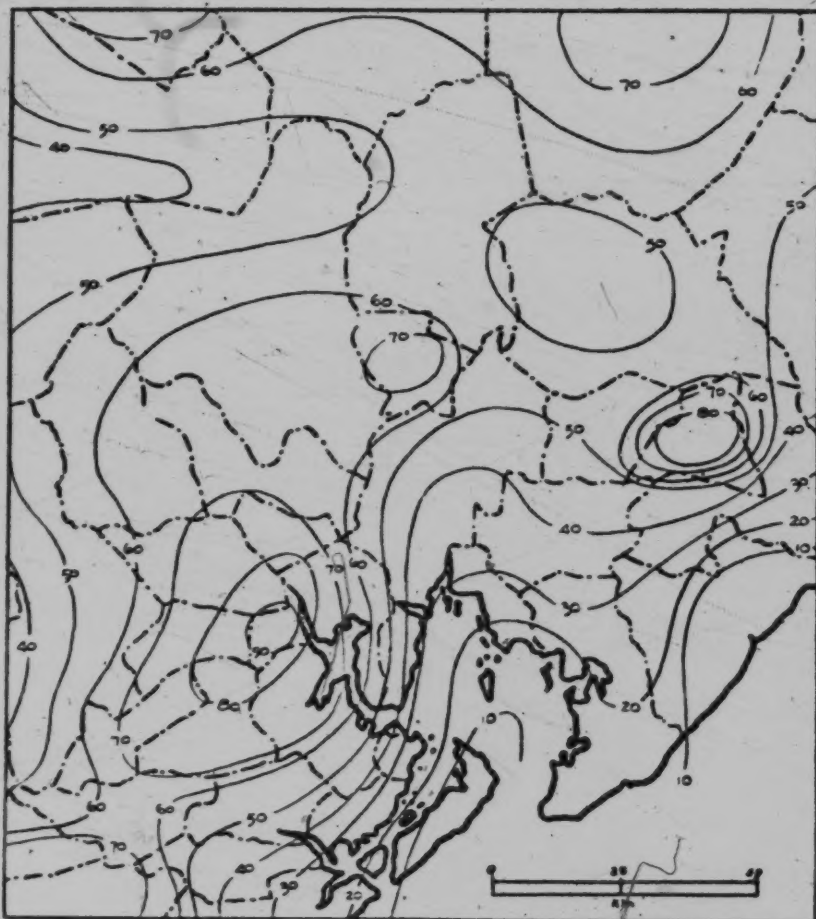


RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were
Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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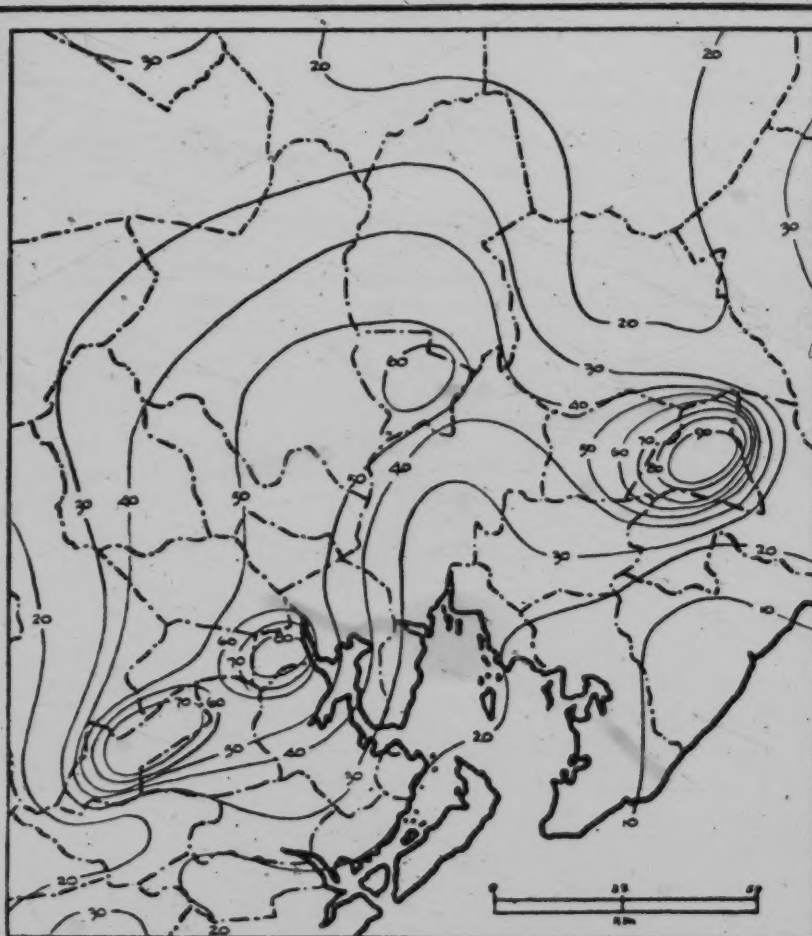


RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in
Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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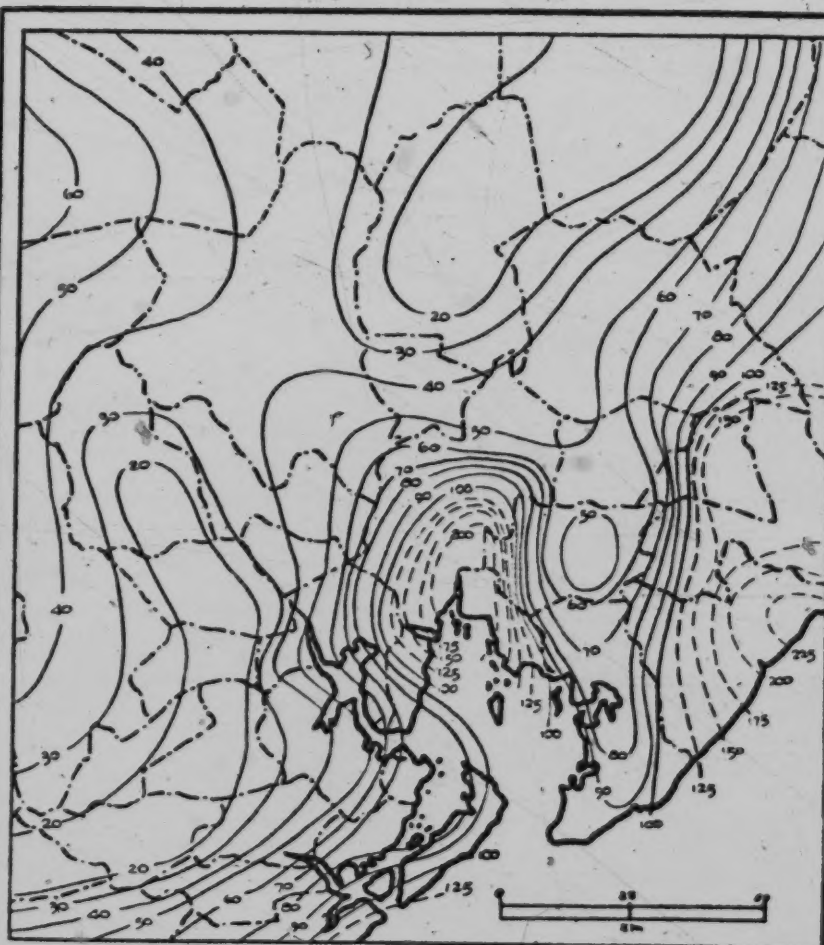


RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in
Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

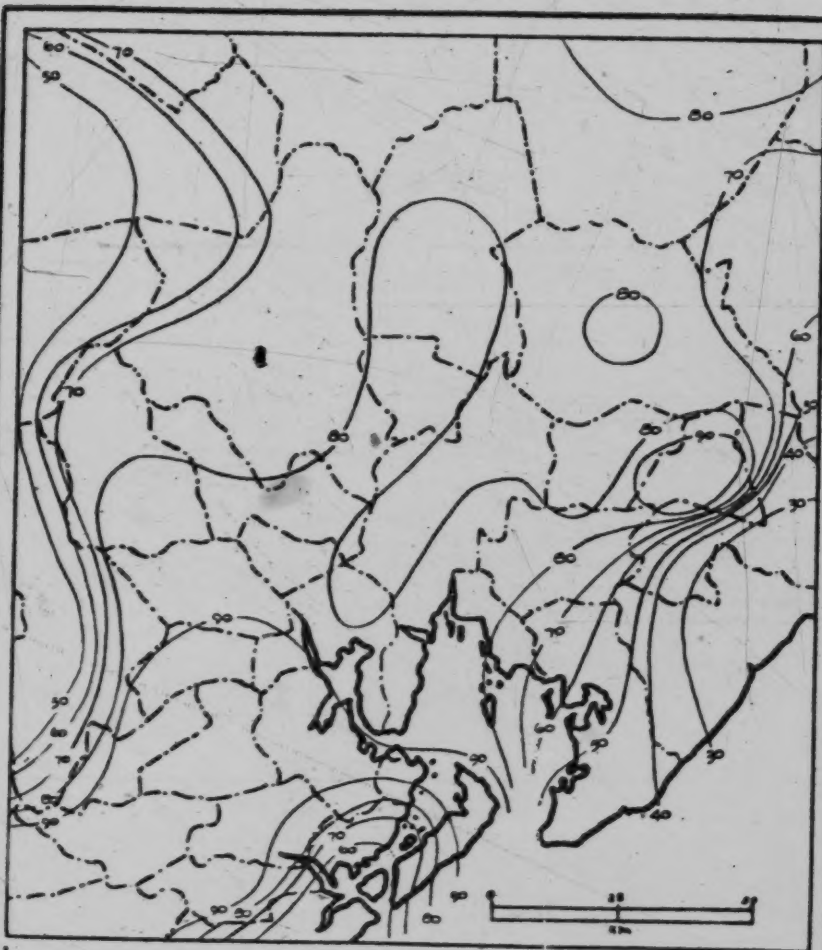
Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
 249 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
 231 region and the western and northern perimter of the Recôncavo was
 233 small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
 [423] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-
 [311] producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were
 relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
 231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
 232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
 311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region
 over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing
 properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent
 of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three,
 less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
 311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
 184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
 [231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
 [233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the
 environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural
 land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these
 crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there
 were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations,
 diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates
 with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation
 properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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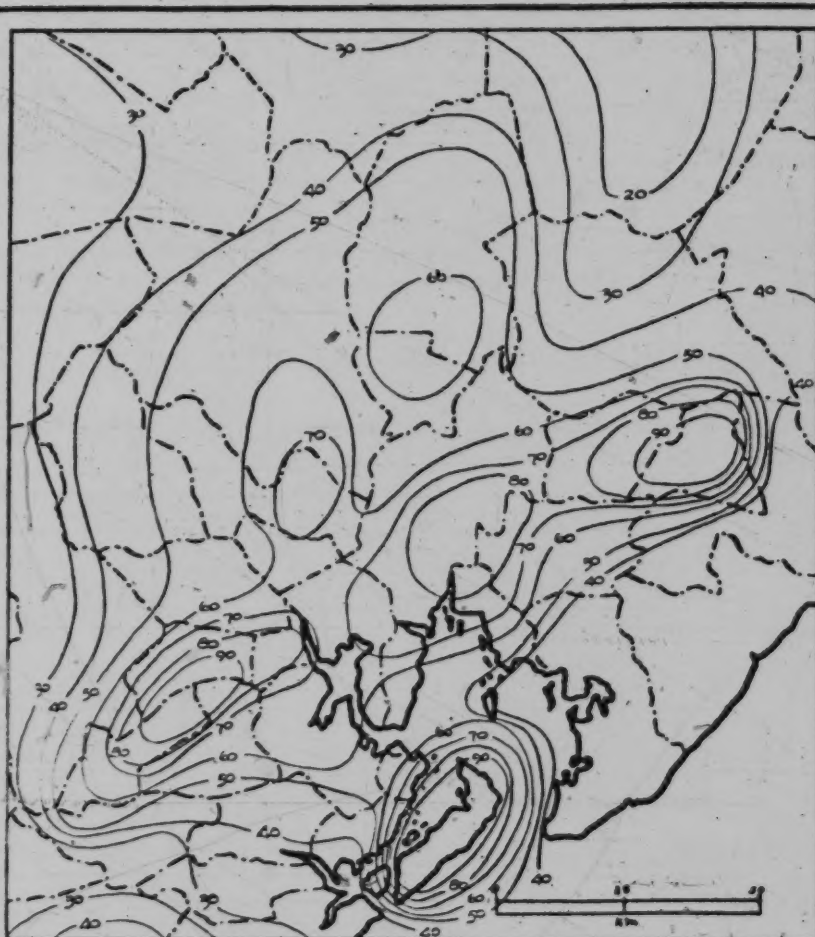


RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in
Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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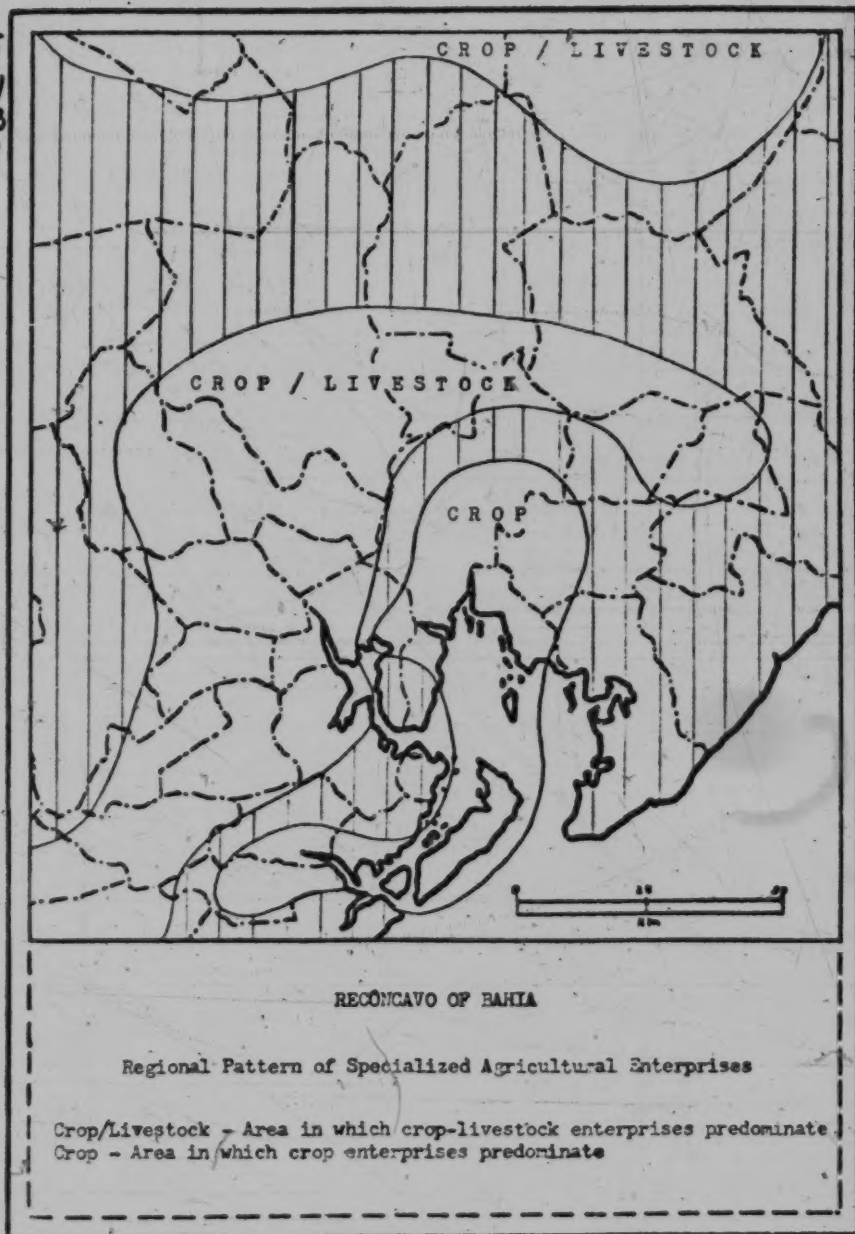


RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in
Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Pecenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos
Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier taboleiros north of the Recôncavo. The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguagu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

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The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the South-western Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguagu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

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Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

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[556] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

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442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is also completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

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[233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both essentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

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[249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECÔNCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS--1948

Agricultural Products	Recôncavo	Bahia	Value of Production in Cr.\$000	
			Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425,494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,030
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraíba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,404
Peanuts	1,300	1,788	258,287 - São Paulo	292,274
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,547
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,157,506
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,875
Livestock	60,000			

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state—Cr.\$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.\$335,000,000. The

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total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.\$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.¹

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development

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of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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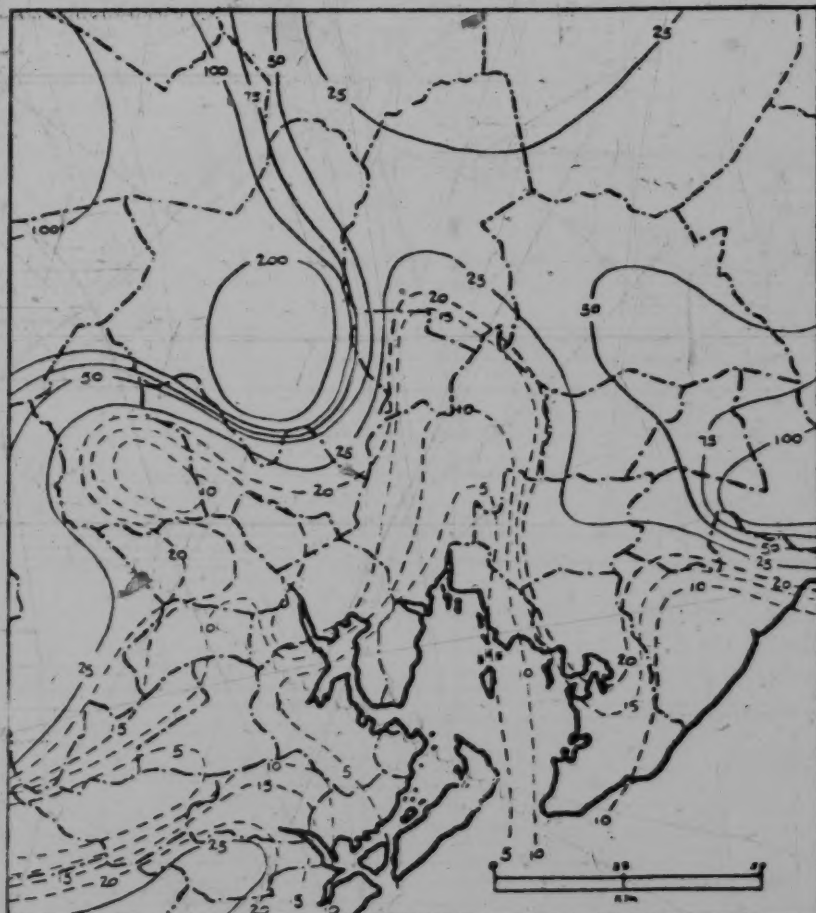
Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table IV, above.

241 Except in the
433 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except
• 233 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops
433 (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
233 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data
433 of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of
the Value of Crop Production—1948

443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
 452 of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
 427 raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira
 or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The
 meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the
 week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each
 morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week.
 Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro,
 and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
 example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
 trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as
 Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important
 general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Água de Meninos

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 494 (505) in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats
 beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
 here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
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 494 and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market.

It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases
 the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the
 source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables
 through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central
 market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets
 which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
 443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
 233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the
 region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change
 hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.¹ Because the

442 campo de gado draws vaqueiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão
 443 as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby
 • 233 municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the
município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the
Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the
sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extrac-
 tive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the
 interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially
 bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which
 have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining
 the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the
 accoutrements of the vaqueiro—bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--
 can be purchased.

249 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo
 471 is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the
 438 cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members
 of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-
 sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements,
 which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that
 there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists
 for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell
 it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane
 producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and
 social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of
 the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the diffi-
 culties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas
 on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered
 to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that
 the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

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In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

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Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brasil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de

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Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock pro-

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duction is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

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The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than

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6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than
manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer

[407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of
[492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought
[231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found
[233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small

[471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas
[178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the

[499] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are
[489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in
[505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities
[438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class
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[565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are
[471] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The
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[464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane
[178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguaçu in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

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The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is

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produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried,

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and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

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241 In the
231 surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases,
• 233 economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of
crop cultivation.

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43 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization
443 of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of
BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit
(249) essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the country-
(452) side, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent
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(249) to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly,
the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its
products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for
the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products
which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador
are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the
sertão.

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241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo
are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and
the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems.

Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil,

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(464) is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant,
and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at
mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in

the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property--latifúndia--

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(423) and the class organization with which it is associated are important
(565) in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers
of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts
of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon
the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals

Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock¹ gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the crusero. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{1948 \text{ cattle}}{1940 \text{ cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2 \text{ (approx.)}$
 1940 value of production = Cr.\$825,000
 Cr.\$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.\$1,650,000
 Cr.\$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.\$5,775,000.

¹Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests.

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (fetor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another.

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

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"Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

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An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

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"Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane.

"Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening.

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"Cutting bamboo" is done for many different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Doreas, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization.

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhã's house. This garden stands in contrast to the *roças*, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhã, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhã.

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhã's house.

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhã whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the

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3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia
[facing P. 18]

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.¹ Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent.

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

¹ Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the *usina*, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and *usina* workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *estequeiros* at the harvest-planting season.

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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[facing P. 43]

4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

CASA GRANDE AND SENZALA

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.¹²² Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.¹²³ The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

De quem é esta casa?

auê

como gerê, como gerê

como érá.¹²⁴

Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.¹²⁵

¹²² See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-83.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-3.

¹²⁴ Whose is this house?

auê

I eat gerê, I eat gerê

I eat érá.

¹²⁵ Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220-21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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[SALVADOR]

/46/

Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacao gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

/46 cont./

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[186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some

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441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the

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[671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

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